1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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175 439 648 far less likely to yield its pretensions'. These considerations found expression in the agreement of 24 November 1894, allowing the B.S.A. Company to take over from Johnston the administration of its sphere north of the Zambezi. The Foreign Office stipulated that sanction for the treaties made by the B.S.A. Company's agents was to be without prejudice to Wiese's possible claims.[43]

The Mozambique Company opened negotiations with the B.S.A. Company with these registered but unrecognized concessions as their asset. Agreement was reached on 8 May 1895. In return for any rights they might have in the British sphere under Wiese's concessions, and conditional on their raising certain capital, the Mozambique Company were granted mineral and land rights in a block of land ten thousand square miles in extent within the B.S.A. Company's territory. The rights of Natives were to be respected. Any rights the Mozambique Company might have in Portuguese territory were not to be exercised. A new company, the North Charterland Exploration Company, in which the B.S.A. Company had an interest, was formed to operate the grant of land. Thus the North Charterland Concession came into being. The whole of Mpezeni's country, except for that portion included in the Nyasaland Protectorate, came within the Concession.[44]

Some thirty-five years later, Mr. Justice Maugham was to rule that this grant to the Mozambique Company could only have been potential, not actual, since at that time the B.S.A. Company did not yet possess the mineral and other rights they were making over. At the time this consideration carried no weight. In April 1895, even before agreement with the B.S.A. Company had been concluded, the Mozambique Company's pioneer party reached Tete. They arrived in Ngoniland in the following year.[45]

4. *European consolidation*

175 439 567 648 721 In Nyasaland fighting continued sporadically in an attempt to end the slave trade. From 1891 onwards Johnston's troops fought a series of engagements with Arabs, Yao and southern Ngoni. Mpezeni was regarded not only as a robber with whom no treaties were necessary but also as a partner in the slave trade, for one of the main routes used by Arabs and their African colleagues ran near Mpezeni's country.[46] All Ngoni raids were interpreted by the Nyasaland Administration as raids for slaves and Sharpe, describing his second visit to Mpezeni, wrote that the chief did a brisk

[43] 67, fo. 141-2; 93, p. 48.
[44] 99; 100.
[45] *Maugham report*, pp. 6-7.
[46] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 3 (1 February 1896), p. 2, and iii, 8 (15 April 1896), p. 1.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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trade in slaves, selling them to the Arabs.[47] Wiese's evidence on this point is contradictory. In 1881 he wrote that Arab caravans continually visited Mpezeni and that most of the raids were to capture slaves for sale to the Arabs. In 1900, he wrote in one place that some captives were sold to the Arabs and in another that Mpezeni scarcely knew of the permanent slave hunters and that the sole object of major raids was to gain captives to cultivate the Ngoni fields.[48] Few tales of the Arabs and no nicknames have survived to the present time among the Ngoni, and it is probable that Sharpe was overestimating the importance to Mpezeni of the external slave trade. Although Livingstone knew it, Wiese and Kerr are the only contemporary writers who were aware that captives were assimilated,[49] for other writers do not distinguish between captives and slaves. Whether or not the raids were made for Ngoni recruits or for slaves to be sold to the Arabs, it is clear that they were often made into Nyasaland and thus challenged the Administration there. Towards the end of 1895 the Collector at Kotakota opened a campaign against Mwase Kasungu, the Cewa chief whose territory lay between Mpezeni and the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland. It is alleged that Mpezeni offered to help Mwase in this campaign, but it seems that no help arrived. On 31 December 1895 the fortified village of Kasungu was captured and Chabisa, a chief who had been helping Mwase, fled to Mpezeni.[51]

Chabisa may have been the moving spirit behind the delegation which early in 1896 went from Mpezeni to the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland calling on them to rise with him and Chabisa against the British.[52] The Livingstonia Mission had already been working among the northern Ngoni for eighteen years, and the delegation found little support.

As well as Chabisa, other refugees arrived from the south, after the First Matabele War of 1893 in Southern Rhodesia. According to some accounts the Ndebele Paramount Chief, Lobengula, was with them, only to die a few months later.[53]

[47] Sharpe, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 745. cf. Perham, *Ten Africans*, p. 96.
[48] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 478 and 'Geschichte', pp. 188 and 197.
[49] Livingstone, *Narrative*, p. 385; Kerr, 'Upper Zambesi', p. 396.
[51] Swann, the Collector, in *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 4 (15 February 1896), p. 1; and *A & P*, 1896, lviii, pp. 417, 418, describes Chabisa and Mwase as Ngoni and Zulu chiefs. Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168, say Mwase and Chabisa were brothers. It is unlikely that either was Ngoni. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 144, calls Mwase a Cewa but says he had many Ngoni headmen under him, thereby amending his earlier statements that Mwase and Undi were Ngoni. See 20, fo. 129; *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 412.
[52] Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 292.
[53] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 2; Lancaster, 'Tentative chronology', p. 83; Posselt, *Upangula*, pp. 112-24; 98; 121, fo. 193.

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439 Mcekwani mpanza (Chequani), a lieutenant of segment 10.
578 Among the enemies are Ngoka Lukhezo zulu (Goka), a lieutenant
648 of segment 4, and Kamzembe maiemesa (Camsembe), regional
668 governor in segment 10.[132] The elucidation of this cleavage is further complicated by the fact that from 1889 until 1898 Mpezeni lived at least most of the time not with his great wife but with his favourite, the leader of the subsidiary bevy in segment 15.[133] He may have done this to place himself at a distance from Wiese, who had a store at the headquarters of segment 4, Mpezeni's father's great wife's village, and from the North Charterland, whose Fort Young was just outside the headquarters of segment 10, his own great wife's village. There is, however, no definite evidence for this.

Regarding the Europeans for the moment as external agents, we can see how inter-African relations were affected by them. Within the chiefdom the most striking phenomenon was the prohibition on raiding imposed by the Whites. It was this which appears to have accentuated the cleavage between Mpezeni and his sons and which may have given Nsingu an external object of attack formidable enough to unite him with his brothers. The Ngoni State was essentially a military one and each successive generation of leaders needed to glorify themselves in battle. Mpezeni at the end of his life, his battles over, could well favour
[721] peace but his sons had still to demonstrate their valour and swell
[178] their segments with captives. The prohibition on raiding struck at at the root of the State, socially as well as economically. External relations changed their content, and neighbouring chiefs were able to visit Ngoniland unmolested. A more significant change of relation was attempted when Chabisa tried to unite the Fort Jameson and northern Nyasaland groups of Ngoni against the Europeans. Chabisa failed, but even so Ngoni re-established contact with the Ndebele after a lapse of some sixty-five years as the direct result of European action.

439 In all this the Arabs played only a minor part. Some Arabs
648 traded with Mpezeni for slaves, and Ngoni used sometimes to raid
567 Arab caravans. This we know from Deare, who saw an Arab with Mpezeni and to whom Nsingu related the story of a successful attack on a caravan. Deare mentions that this Arab tried to influence Mpezeni against him.[134] Apart from this, there is little information on their dealings with this group of Ngoni. The main struggle between Administration and Arabs was fought out at

[132] 187, fo. 137. cf. Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 20.
[133] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 79.
[134] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April and 4 May.

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Karonga in 1895 and although slave trading went on through Portuguese territory even after 1900, Arabs never made any effort to maintain this trade in the Fort Jameson area. [567]

When Wiese left the country in 1898 his work was done. His departure symbolized the end of the pioneering stage of colonialism and the beginning of the stage of settled paternal administration. Mpezeni was reinstated after the war, but there was no position into which Wiese could have been reinstated, nor anyone who wanted to reinstate him. Unlike Mpezeni, Wiese did not represent the long-term interests of any powerful group. In the history of empires there are many examples of men like Wiese who succeeded in weathering the transition from one phase to another and ended their lives in honour and glory. But Wiese had sold his assets before the war began. When it was over, his one saleable attribute, his friendship with Mpezeni, had been compromised and was no longer of value. He departed from a scene which had no place for him.

An examination of how the Imperial and the financial struggles were inter-connected would take us beyond the bounds of Ngoniland and of our subject. We have, however, shown that the three social fields were inter-connected, and that moves in one field were affected by and in turn inspired moves in another. It is important to realize that this inter-connection was not due merely to geographical accident. From one point of view it was accidental that Ngoniland should lie near so many frontiers and that there should be an ancient gold-mine in the vicinity. But Britain, the North Charterland, and Nsingu were all struggling partly for the same thing, control of the Ngoni people. Even Warton understood this. At the end of 1896 he was asked: 'The Natives, I understand, are friendly?' He replied: 'I am glad to say that, so far, we have succeeded in establishing most friendly relations with M'Pesene. . . . Fighting would not only be costly, but we should lose our labourers if we engaged in hostilities. So you see on selfish, as well as humanitarian grounds, we have every reason to avoid warfare and bloodshed.'[138] The mineral resources of Mpezeni's country may have been largely illusory but the human resources were real. Ngoni men could fight for slaves, for dependants, for cattle and for glory; they could carry loads from Tete and prepare to work in the North Charterland's mines; or they could migrate to Southern Rhodesia to work there: but they could not do all these things simultaneously. The fight to destroy the Ngoni army was as much one to secure a labour supply for European capital investment as it was to secure

[138] *African Review*, x, 216 (9 January 1897), p. 67.

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they might give their support to the enforcement of law. Murder has always been a public delict in Ngoni society and before the conquest, a murderer was usually tried by senior lieutenants at the headquarters of either segment 4 or 10 and if found guilty was executed by the first lieutenant of the segment. Ngoni still think that murderers ought to be brought to justice, but the investigation of murder, a matter for the Northern Rhodesia Police, is likely to be obstructed even though the investigation may be carried out entirely by Africans. Those affected by the murder wish to see the murderer punished, but they also want to keep clear of the legal process involved.

10. *External links*

The death of Zwangendaba was followed by a dispersal of Ngoni groups into various parts of east and central Africa. The present dispersal of Ngoni men and women from Fort Jameson over southern Africa arises from a different social situation and takes place in a different way. The early mining enterprises of Southern Rhodesia, like those in the Union of South Africa before them, were based on migratory labour. As we have noted, Ngoni began going to Southern Rhodesia only a few months after they had been conquered, and they have continued to go ever since. Although the first batch of migrants were apparently ordered to go by someone in authority, the great bulk of men who have gone away subsequently have gone as individuals, even if they were recruited in batches of a hundred or more at a time. Thus, the dispersal of population is not directly related to the political system of the tribe, as was the pre-conquest dispersal. There has been a certain amount of regional preference, one county supplying more than its share of migrants to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt, the Nyasaland counties supplying proportionately more migrants to the Union as compared with the Northern Rhodesia counties, and so on, but these preferences are not marked. The inhabitants of each county, and indeed of nearly every village, have kinsfolk who are scattered over the towns and farms of the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, the Transvaal and farther south.

Ngoni men and women are thus bound by many ties to other persons and groups located far away from the villages of Ngoniland. For the most part these ties bind individuals, for each person has distant attachments which are not the same as his neighbours. In this volume we are concerned primarily with politics, with social relations between enduring groups, and we shall reserve our discussion of the social implications of migration for a later work in

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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which we shall be more directly concerned with the smaller groupings of Ngoni society. There are, however, a few points that must be mentioned here.

In Fort Jameson and in a few of the towns on the Northern Rhodesia railway line there are Ngoni members of the Native Urban Courts. These posts are largely in the gift of the Native Authority although they are not paid by the Native Treasury. The man recommended by the Paramount Chief to the Administration is usually the one appointed, and he acts as a representative of the Native Authority in the town as well as carrying out his duties in the court. He is likely to act as host when a chief visits his town, and messages are sometimes sent through him to men and women who are wanted in connexion with affairs in Ngoniland.

Every few years or so a chief goes to visit the towns. Here he is received by his people and those of other Ngoni counties, and may be given substantial presents. The Paramount Chief is sometimes called to Lusaka by the Administration to attend some function, and newly appointed chiefs go to a school near there, where courses of instruction are held for them. Thus although migrants may leave their villages and not return to them for many years, there are opportunities for them to keep in touch with rural happenings. Most of their contacts are with their kinsfolk, who visit them or write to them, but there are also these links with the political system of the tribe. When political offices have to be filled, not only Ngoni living rurally are considered but also those in the towns whose whereabouts are known. Sometimes the fare is sent for the lorry journey back to Fort Jameson if the town-dweller has no money.

There is little contact between the Fort Jameson group and other Ngoni groups. In 1914 envoys came from the northern Nyasaland group in order, it is said, formally to confirm Mpezeni as Paramount Chief of the Fort Jameson group, but there does not seem to have been any subsequent contact between the heads of the two groups. Individuals from northern Nyasaland from time to time find their way into Fort Jameson District, usually while searching for work on the tobacco farms, in the same way as men from other tribes. These immigrants may persuade some of their relatives to join them and so build up sufficient following to set themselves up as village headmen.

Contact is naturally closer with the two Nyasaland counties formerly under Mpezeni and many Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia have relatives across the border. The border twists and turns, and there is no physical indication of its existence on the ground save

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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CHAPTER I

THE MILITARY FOUNDATIONS OF THE NGONI KINGDOMS

AFTER the Ngoni settled in Nyasaland their political system went through three main periods of change and development up to 1939. The first was that of pre-European days, characterized by the military kingdoms. The second was the period of direct British administration, when the chief features of the Ngoni kingdoms were latent and unrecognized. The third was the period from 1933 onwards when the passing of the Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances gave recognition to certain traditional forms of the Ngoni political system. Since, in their early forms, from the middle of the nineteenth century onward, the Ngoni kingdoms were founded on conquest, the maintenance of military power both for defence and aggression was an essential condition of their survival. We shall therefore begin the examination of the Ngoni political system with a chapter on their military organization. Men of the Swazi and of trans-Zambesi clans were proud of the part their fathers and grandfathers had played in Ngoni wars. These wars were recalled to the people in the recitals of oral tradition and in the songs and dances which were part of Ngoni culture. Cibambo, who has already been mentioned as the historian of his people, wrote for me in English the following account of Ngoni warfare in the old days, part of which, written in Tumbuka, was used as a reader for the schools in the Livingstonia Mission area. Cibambo had, as a young boy, seen the preparations for war, and had gone more than once as a carrier for his elder brothers who belonged to one of the last formed regiments.

NGONI WARFARE IN OLD DAYS

¶ To the Ngoni war was like work and his heart rejoiced to think of it. When the old men sat in the kraal the talk that roused discussion was of war and their journeyings. All the heroes of the tribe had received their praise-greetings through service in war. In this, ordinary people and slaves came together, for though they might have been unknown to begin with, if they were heroes in one or two wars the whole country knew them. The slaves who showed their courage and strength in war quickly received their freedom and many also had villages of their own because of the people they had captured in war; others obtained the standing of men in authority. Those who were cowards were humiliated and laughed at, and those who had not entered the enemy stockade or killed a man were not allowed to dance in triumph in the kraal but only to join in the *ligubo* dance along with others.

[P. 28 is blank]

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
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charged by him with specific functions relating to the State as a whole, and appear to have exercised general jurisdiction. Other lieutenants were known as the lieutenants of such-and-such a royal village, and were appointed by Mpezeni to look after the queens of the village and to be responsible for the internal ordering of the village.

In addition to these lieutenants each important person had a deputy,[1] who was a patrilineal kinsman of the same generation. Each new holder of the principal office selected his own deputy. The deputy's task was to act for his principal in his absence and to serve as an intermediary between the principal and his lieutenants.

All these posts were hereditary in the agnatic line, except for that of deputy, but new posts were continually being created and the holders of other posts fell into disgrace. Some of the lieutenants of Mpezeni were also headmen of their own villages, while other lieutenants were promoted to be regional governors.

Increase in population led to increase in the number of villages and of recognizable divisions within villages, both by divisional fission and by the setting up of separate establishments for groups of wives. This process, operating in response to population pressure from below, was assisted from above by the need to give newly created lieutenants and governors their own dependants and their own recognizable residential cluster.

The relative position and importance of a segment of the political structure might alter if its leader was killed in battle or if he offended the Paramount. For example, a certain lieutenant who had a village of his own committed adultery with one of Mpezeni's queens. He was put to death, and all his followers were made to come and live in a royal village. But in addition to the natural increase in the population of any segment, new members were added by capture in war. There was never any distinct class of slaves or captives in the Ngoni State. Apart from the aristocratic families which traced their history back to the pre-migration period in Natal, the rest of the tribe had been either captured at one time or other on the way north, or had joined the Ngoni of their own volition. On capture, people were assigned to some or other important person, and after a while acquired a certain autonomy of their own. The men were all enrolled into the age-set regiment appropriate to their age, and it was possible for them to rise to high positions in the State. No distinction of ethnic origin was

[1] *Mnumu*, pl. *anumu*. Cf. the Zulu term *umnawe*, younger brother who is next to the heir.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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marriages in which bride-wealth was paid were patrilocal, and those in which it was not paid, except for marriages with slave wives, were matrilocal. The matrilocal marriages were made only by recently incorporated Ngoni. The payment of bride-wealth is now significant only in relation to the residence and affiliation of the children of the marriage and does not affect the residence of the couple themselves. It frequently happens that a man goes and lives in the village of his wife when they are first married and that after a year or so he takes her back to his own village. This practice is fairly common among the matrilineal tribes of the region. A small payment[1] of five shillings or so may be made instead to enable a man to take his bride to his own village without first completing a period of matrilocal residence. Sometimes the legalization payment is considered sufficient to exempt from matrilocal residence. Indeed it is indicative of the wide range of variation in the different payments made and not made and in the significance attached to them that some informants were unable to state with certainty what payments had been made in their own marriages, although they knew the amount of money or animals that had been handed over.

This wide range of variation in behaviour in relation to marriage is one instance of the high measure of cultural heterogeneity of the Fort Jameson Ngoni. While present-day conditions are relevant to a study of Ngoni marriage, at the same time the effect of the combination of people with very different conceptions of marriage into a single state must not be overlooked. Among families that are powerful and claim to have migrated with Zwangendaba from the south, patrilocal marriage and the payment of bride-wealth are more frequent than they are among families of more recent incorporation. Cross-cousin marriage is noticeably more frequent in villages with people of Bisa descent than in the population as a whole. In Nyasaland, where there is a sharper cleavage into old Ngoni villages and conquered Cewa villages, the old Ngoni are characterized by a greater, and the Cewa by a lesser, incidence of patrilocal marriage.

Divorce

In the old days there was no way in which a woman could divorce her husband. A man could divorce his wife at any time by sending her back to her own people. The usual procedure nowadays, except in cases of adultery, is for the man to give his wife sixpence or a shilling

[1] *Nibakula.*

Ill: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 173 [567] Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma of the Ansenga tribe worked for Sosera when he was a youth. Zimakazi was caught and made a slave in 1835, the year of the crossing. Ngungu Ngoma, his son, has often heard this from his father and the chieftainess, Sosera. Zimakazi died a few years before his mistress. His son, Ngungu Ngoma, is in the N. Rhodesia Government Service and is about fifty years of age.

[562] [593] (3) Chibenya Mkhalapi. This was the first wife of importance of Zongendaba, the *ikohlwa* wife. When Zongendaba's mother, Mquamache Nzima, died, Chibenya was taken out of the chief's house and put in his mother's place and called "the Great Mother." This is a well-known custom amongst the Ngoni. The date of her death and place of burial are not known by the present day chiefs. It is stated by some of the indunas that she accompanied Zongendaba north and crossed the Zambesi in 1835, by others that she was the mother of Mtwalu, but this appears doubtful.

[645] [701] (4) Gwaza Tole. Brother-in-law of Zongendaba; Chief Councillor and one of the great indunas. Tribe, Ngoni; regiment, Machaya Imiti. Father, Nzyekezera (Njekerezera), mother and wife, not known; sons, Masakambewa and Chitete.

[554] Zongendaba had married one of Gwaza's sisters. He appears to have been an elderly and very wise councillor, in whom the chief placed great trust and whose advice the indunas and captains readily accepted. Gwaza killed one of Zongendaba's wives on his [578] instructions, possibly his own sister. This led to ill feeling, and it is stated that Gwaza and certain others of his following kept apart from the chief after this affair. He died at Fipa and was buried there in 1846.

159 173 167 (5) Zulu Gama. Father, Njeru; mother, not known; wife, Nzyalisa.

Zongendaba married a sister of Zulu Gama (possibly Mambose Gama) before the Zambesi crossing. They had no issue.

On the upward trek after crossing the Zambesi River to the Fipa country, Zulu Gama left his wife, Nzyalisa, at a village near Kasitu; she had a son by him named Paulos Gama, to whom Zulu Gama left villages at Luanjazi near Mzimba.

[578] After Zongendaba's death, Zulu Gama and a following broke away, and were followed by the adherents of Mombera. A fight took place near what is now Old Langenburg, and Mombera's people were scattered by this wily old induna. He crossed the Shire River in 1868. He entered Songea and died there later. Chief Ngabi Maseko was killed by [554] Zulu Gama. Zulu Gama appears to have been a general of high qualities and a sound councillor.

159 173 [701] [645] (6) Njekwane Ntilila. Father, Mphange, a brother of Hlatshwayo; mother, Manyuwazana; wife, Mtonga Jojo; sons: Kapatamoyo I., Sondwani, Hoye Chafumela, Chulu, Mene, Mazwe. A cousin of Chief Zongendaba. Chief Induna of the Zimpofu regiment and Chief Induna of the Council. Died at Mpinduka Hill, Matambazi River, in the year 1868.

(7) Mgai Kumalo. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Bichi Nkhosi. Regiment, Majekwane. Died in the Ufipa Country 1849.

11:Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

(8) Mguzhulu Mphanza ; one of the indunas of the Ziolomba Regiment. Crossed over the Zambesi in 1835. No further particulars known. 159 173

(9) Ntabeni Kumalo ; half brother of Zongendaba. Father, Hlatshwayo ; mother, unknown ; wife, Uthuvi. Regiment, Ziolomba. Died and was buried in Ufipa Country in 1846. [701]

(10) Mafu Kumalo ; elder brother of Hlatshwayo. Father, Mangangati. Killed in action prior to arrival at the Zambesi.

(11) Hlatshwayo Kumalo, the son of Mangangati of the Kumalo clan ; married Mquamache Nzima. He had three brothers, Mafu, Gumete and Mphange. He was the father of Zongendaba, Ntabeni, Somfula, Mgai and Lomapela. [614]

I have been unable to ascertain if he took part in the Great Migration. My information leads me to the conclusion that he was dead before Tshaka vanquished the Ama-Ndwandwe.

(12) Mtwalu Jere : born before the Crossing of the Zambesi, about 1833 ? Father, Zongendaba ; mother, Nqutu Nzima ; wife, Magodise ; sons, Amon Jere, and Yohane Jere. Regiment, Manyoka Masoko. Refused the chieftainship because he stated that his father's, Chief Zongendaba's, last wishes had not been carried out. There is no truth in the statement that he was unfitted to hold the chieftainship through physical defects. Died in Nyasaland (Angoni Land), 1890. [643]

(13) Mombera Jere (Mbelwa) ; born at Chulu on the way to Fipa, 1840. Mother, Umnene Nzima, a Swazi ; father, Zongendaba : half-sister, Mphangela ; blood sister, Lomagazi, who it is stated by some was born before the Zambesi was crossed ; son Chimtunga, whose mother was cast off because of adultery. Chimtunga's appointment was not recognised by his grandfather's indunas. Died in 1891, Angoni Land, Nyasaland. [684] [643]

(14) Mperembe Jere. Not born north side of the Zambesi River ; it is stated his mother did not cross the Zambesi in 1835. 159 173

Mperembe went into the Awemba Country after the break up of the tribe, but appears to have crossed back eastwards over the Loangwa River and joined Mombera and Mtwalu about 1868/9, after being badly beaten by the Chitimukulu. 643

It is known in the Mpezeni country that he captured Chanda mukulu, sister of Chitimukulu, whom he brought back with him and married at Mteleta village near the Mulowi River, that he had one son by her named Chinombo, and that after the Ngoni rebellion Chanda mukulu was returned to her own country ; she resided on the Mackera River for some years. [583]

She had slits in her ears so large that one could put one's hand through them. [304]

My informant, Sayeye Phiri, who was born at Kasitu, was caught by Mombera's people at Kanyenda, Kotakota, and made a slave ; she knew Mombera and Chanda mukulu well. She is well over seventy and resides in the Fort Jameson Location. [115] [567] [152]

Mperembe Jere appears to have been a disgruntled and bloodthirsty despot and to have had no interests other than bloodthirsty raids and the joys of his harem. He

/8 cont'd/

352 Beds are owned in general by the younger generation only, and then at the rate of one per household. Otherwise, everyone sleeps on the floor on a reed mat. During the day, the mat is rolled 285 up except when needed for drying flour in the sun. These mats are made from reeds that grow near streams. The reeds are split in four, and are threaded with a thin rope made from the inner bark of the nzizi tree. Wooden headrests are now a rarity, and if any 513 headrests at all is used, it is a European pillow. Blankets, quilts [77] and, less frequently, sheets, are bought from stores.

/9/ V

412 The chief tool for use in the garden is the hoe. Ruins of fur- naces for smelting iron ore are still to be seen, but are not now used, [325] and are said to have been worked in the old days only by Chewa [567] slaves. Hoe blades are bought in the stores, and hafted with a handle made in the village. Handle making is a man's job, but one that every man knows how to do. Axes are made from blades bought in the store, or else from a worn down hoe blade, with a home-made handle. Adzes are used for mortar making, and young boys make miniature adzes as toys. A pointed blade hafted on to the end of a straight handle is used for making holes in the ground when building.

493 Sledges and, less commonly, unarticulated carts with solid [241] wheels are made for transporting the harvest from the fields to the village, and for collecting firewood. These are pulled by cattle, [493] not always oxen, using simple yokes made of wood and sinew, with a wooden drawbar.

224 Hunting is carried on in the dry season, particularly towards the end, when the grass burns easily. Guns of varying degrees of 411 antiquity are used, but none of these are made by Ngoni, although the Chewa still make guns. On a hunt, the rank and file are armed with throwing spears and knobkerries. The gun carriers walk about 224 two hundred yards in front of the main body, who are spread on a single line at right angles to the line of advance. The leader of

13:Fraser M-5 (ca. 1890)1901
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101 [115] ardly people compared with the wild spirits who remained under Mombera.

This tribe is variously named Mazitu, Vikoko, Abangoni, and so on, and readers of Livingstone's 'Zambezi and its Tributaries,' will remember his frequent references to the wild marauding bands of Mazitu. The word Abangoni, by which the tribe calls itself, [186] simply means "The people." They reckon themselves the blooded aristocrats of Africa.

[193] The prefix *aba* before ngoni, is simply the plural form of the noun *umgoni*, a single man. The country is called Ubungoni, and the language Chingoni. For the peculiarity of the Bantu languages, is that words alter their number from singular to plural, and character from noun to adjective, not by changing the suffix but the prefix.

197 The language which the Ngoni speak is a slight modification of Zulu—but they only use two clicks—the dental *c* and labial *q*. In our schools therefore we use the Zulu literature in which there are already nearly 40 volumes, and the best of these are the translations left by Bishop Colenso. Zulu is however rapidly dying ●[507] out, as the language of the slaves and of the surrounding tribes is becoming the vernacular of the common people. When Mombera's 175 Ngoni settled down in the watershed of the Ruhuru, they soon made their presence disagreeably felt throughout West Nyasa. [126] Their marauding parties were always out on the war path. Dressing in a frightsome garb of cock feathers, carrying a large shield and two or three stabbing assegais, they terrorised the neighbouring tribes. They used to sleep near some village which they wished to attack, and then in the early morning just before the light had come, with a wild war whoop they would sweep through the village, killing the men and the old people; then when they had seized the women and children and tied them together they would start back for the hills, driving with them all the cattle and sheep and goats that they could find. Their fighting was never done in the open. It generally took the form of a wild and sudden rush, and in a moment bleeding corpses were lying about, and the village was in flames.

The terrified people betook themselves to huge stockaded villages, [101] others piled their villages in the lake itself. The Poka, and Henga fled to mountain fastnesses, and built on the edges of fearful precipices, the Senga fled to the Luangwa marsh and built great protected villages in the depths of huge thorn thickets. And the land became

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643 wait for six or seven years before the procrastinating headmen [645] could lay aside jealousies, and actually place him in the authority of his father. Then when he is crowned he cannot sit in judgment [695] or give a decision unless his councillors have been summoned, and have deliberated with him. Many a time in the old fierce days the councillors and chief argued and defied one another for weeks at a time over the question as to whether the white man was to be tolerated in the country, and it was the strong affection of old Mombera for Dr. Laws, and Wm. Koyi which alone held in the dogs of war, and prevented his councillors from going forth on an exterminating expedition. Yet in spite of the great power of the chief he lives as father of the people with all the villagers as his children. His house is like their own, built right in the centre of [567] the village. The poorest slave has access to him, and he hands his beer pot or his snuff to the meanest villager when he would show him friendliness.

[699] Under the paramount chief there are four great sub-chiefs, and [634] each of them has his councillors and headmen. Then these headmen have each a group of villages under their control. They [692] hear and dispose of petty quarrels between the villagers. Cases in which headmen are involved go to the sub-chief, and cases in which the sub-chiefs are involved, and all great tribal affairs, 645 go to the paramount chief. The tribal council is an impressive sight. Just before I came here I had the privilege of being present in one of these great gatherings of the tribe. It had met to discuss the advisability of coming under the British Protectorate. The great chief, Chimtunga, had sent out his messengers to call to council all the sub-chiefs and headmen. They marched into the [634] chief's kraal on the appointed day, each sub-chief followed by his councillors and hundreds of armed warriors, all walking in single file, and dressed in their gaudiest clothes. They sat round the [643] kraal till thousands were present. By-and-bye the paramount chief walked in, followed by his brothers and council. He was greeted by a roar of salutation, and took his seat. When the case was opened, and the subject introduced, the fathers of the people rose one after the other and saluted the chief, and then addressed the people. The speakers walked up and down, speaking with [537] considerable incisiveness and eloquence, their language full of metaphors and traditional allusions. Then the chief spoke, closing the discussion. Immediately it was ended and the royal [535] salutation given, a warrior leapt into the circle with a war cry, fell

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when the death penalty can hardly be exacted, or compensation made in the delivery over of slaves, they find it hard to satisfy demands and make a show of justice.

Now let us speak of the social life of the people. The Ngoni differ from most of the Central Africa tribes in their habit of living in large unprotected villages. The tendency of most of the other tribes is to scatter themselves in very little hamlets over a wide area, with scarcely a path of communication between the villages. Where war has harassed them they have built huge stockaded villages for their mutual protection, but as soon as assured peace has come again, the towns have split into numerous distant groups of houses. This seems to be caused by the dread and mistrust of one another which the people have through their superstitious belief in a evil eye, and in witchcraft, and through the perpetual little quarrels that arise. A carrier who was accompanying a friend of mine described this state very well when they passed a little village of four huts, and then a few hundred yards farther on an isolated hut. Holding up his hand he cried, "Look at Mr. Thumb saying to Messrs. Fourfingers, keep your distance."

The heart of a Ngoni village is the large circular cattle kraal. There all the court cases are tried, there the visitors are received, and there the dances are held. Round the kraal the village of beehive huts is built in regular rows, and then immediately outside the gardens begin. The village life takes the place of family life, and the headman is father of all the people. The boys after they have attained to twelve years of age or so live in huts by themselves, and the girls in huts on the opposite side of the village. These girls' quarters used to be most sacredly guarded, and any man found in their enclosure after dark could be killed.

The great part of the Ngoni nation consists of domestic slaves. They are people, or the descendants of people, who have been captured in raiding expeditions. But their position is not a hard one. If they are discontented they may change masters. They give their masters a little free labour, and in return are made members of his family; he espouses all their quarrels, looks after them in sickness, and shares some of his superfluity with them, but they have to share some of their necessities with him.

Polygamy was the universal custom of the people until recently. Now hundreds of polygamous unions are being dissolved every year. But in the rougher days polygamy was a necessary

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The art of cultivating the ground is only now being learned by the Ngoni. Formerly this was the work of the slaves. The masters know how to kill not to till. The soil is fairly rich though not nearly so fertile as what is found at the lake shore and in the deep valleys between. Maize is the great crop. But owing to the devastation of locusts for several years in succession, the Ngoni have learned to plant also reserve gardens of kavava, for the locusts and drought can scarcely affect this crop. A great variety of vegetables is cultivated, peas, beans, tomatoes, pumpkins, and so on. I have counted a variety of twenty-two different vegetables in the gardens beside one village.

These vegetables are used as relish, but the staple food is always maize porridge, and a tasty dish it is. The maize is well cleaned, ground into a fine flour, and when cooked by a clever woman makes a most tempting dish of white porridge. The relish may consist of a piece of stewed fowl or goat, or well boiled vegetable. The greatest dainty that was ever offered to me was a dish of lovely maize porridge with relish of stewed caterpillars. I did without the relish on that occasion. An interesting thing about these caterpillars is that they live on the top of trees, and the natives, to get at them, will hew down the tree. You can see how delicate a dish it makes if every caterpillar in the dish has been got at the cost of a tree. They take the place of the old European dish of peacocks cooked in their feathers.

No native thinks he has eaten until he has had his porridge. A missionary whom I know once unwisely gave a feast to his elders, feeding them on European food. They ate till they could eat no more, then stretching themselves, and after politely expressing their satisfaction by audible sounds of satiety, they rose and and said, "We must now go home to our porridge."

The maize and vegetables are grown with very little trouble, but there is also a species of millet which is largely cultivated, and at great cost to the country. The ground has to be carefully prepared, trees are hewn down in the hot season, and left to dry up in the blazing sun. The whole patch of garden is covered over with these trees and the branches, then when the first clouds appear, the wood is fired. For a day it blazes, and then during the gathering of the clouds the atmosphere is thick with the smoke of burning trees. The rains come and wash the carbon into the soil, and it makes an excellent fertiliser. But the crop exhausts the ground in two or three years, so another patch of